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574 [437] always standing ready, a thin, very sweet püserego was offered in superabundance, and for our beads we obtained a supply of fine polvilho flour for the journey.

●462 The women baking away so busily seemed to us small and ugly, but friendly. They fetched water only accompanied by men.

535 When I was in Iguéti the first time on 20 September with Vogel and Ehrenreich, we experienced a strange scene which I should like to insert here. We were sitting in the flute-house in the evening when a few came in, squatted down beside the ashes of the fire, and uttered a loud ih... Then a couple of others put on the straw apparel hanging there and ran around for a while like roaring lions. I believed it to be pure fun and pastime, but all of them remained perfectly serious. Then one of the maskers ran outside while the chorus again cried ih...hi, stuck his arms out of the straw, and made a rustling sound with the fringe. He disappeared into a house and soon came out again, laden with beijú and fish. The same thing was repeated, and Luchu was the third to go, returning with drink. The departure was always announced by the general ih..., so that the people in the houses were prepared. Since the straw apparel covers the entire body down to the feet, the person that hides in it cannot be recognized.

/90/ Later in the evening three men started to sing. They [534] stepped close to the door entrance of the flute-house, and, to be sure, in such a way that they turned their backs to the rest of us; two of them shook the gourd rattle, which differs from our first cradle toy only in the material, and the third stamped in steady [533] perseverance with his right foot. The three sang: ĩhaí, ihãĩí huχó, ihaí ohuhoχó.... Perhaps the eternal huχu, huχo is nothing but the word for "foot," which, pupu in ancient Karaibe, changed phonetically to χuχu, huχu. It was a solemn, almost melancholy sounding, but very powerful "makanari," as the Bakaïrí call their festival songs. Ehrenreich was very impatient with the invariable, unchanging monotony of the singing, rattling, and stamping; for my part, however, I can only say that the very sameness made an impression on me and in a way intoxicated

/213 cont./

174 way, always and at all times, what we call history was enacted. Here and there a tribe was driven away by attackers or was split by internal feuds, a long period of wandering took place before settlement again followed, but in general people shifted and intermingled from one river valley to another.

Nothing but an eternal alternation of isolation and unification, in which now the former, now the latter was more sharply pronounced, could have produced the multitude of simultaneous linguistic /214/ differences and conformities within the same family of languages; that, in spite of the changes, a true stability predominated, however, is shown by the surprisingly large number of congruities, particularly in view of the paucity of our material. Where it is possible to establish phonetic laws, we see the same certainty and regularity that we find in our European languages. Thus we may only conclude that there was an orderly course of development, despite occasional catastrophes. Even the tribes of hunters must have already had a form of settled, though more irregular existence, in order to acquire the splendid technique of bow and arrow; only in the peaceful, day-by-day life for generations could the useful plants have been acquired, and it is not at all necessary that it was always large and mighty tribes that brought about progress. We see in the case of the Schingú people that primitive agriculture needed fishing and hunting, if only to furnish it with its tools. The realization that is now becoming accepted in North America, namely, that the restless redskins were sedentary to a far greater extent than we should credit them with today, that these wild tribes of hunters are in part the product of the revolution stirred up by us, is perfectly in agreement with the conclusions forced upon us by our experiences along the Schingú.

*171 462 For our Indians -- far be it from me to generalize -- there is a deeper and yet very simple reason that very well explains the juxtaposition of the bloody hunt and the peaceful tillage of the soil. To put it bluntly: the man practiced hunting and

/214 cont./

171 462 meanwhile the woman invented agriculture. The women, as all over Brazil, have exclusive charge, not only of the mandioca preparation in the house, but also of its cultivation. They clear the ground of weeds with pointed sticks, place in the ground the pieces of stalk with which the mandioca is transplanted, and daily fetch what they need, which they carry home in heavily packed back-baskets. The man, on the other hand, plants the tobacco which the woman does not need. On the Schingú the woman already voices a strong opinion; in more primitive circumstances she may actually have been a beast of burden and of work, and even today she must stay away during most of the festivals and animal dances of the men. But let us consider the situation somewhat more closely. The man is more courageous and more agile, to him belongs the hunt and the practice of arms. Where fishing and hunting still play an important part, therefore, insofar as there is any division of labor, the woman must concern herself with procuring the rest of the food, with its transport and preparation. The division is not arbitrary, but one of natural circumstances; yet it has the insufficiently appreciated result that in her field of work the woman acquires her own knowledge, just as the man does in his. This must necessarily hold good on every lower or higher level. The counterpart of the Indian woman's carrying on mandioca cultivation with wise understanding is already found in the pure hunting culture. /215/ The Bororó woman went into the forest armed with a pointed stick and looked for roots and tubers; in connection with the roving expeditions through the campo or wherever a band of Indians changed their residence, such hunting was the task of the woman while the man pursued animals; climbing, she fetched down the palm nuts and dragged home heavy loads of them. And if the [562] Indian woman was subordinate to the man, this position certainly was no benefit to her in the distribution of fish and meat; she

*"After the men have eaten comes the turn of the women and children, who must often be

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satisfied with scant remains and would suffer hunger if they did not provide for themselves in time and stealthily set aside part of the contents of the cooking pots still during the cooking or eat already during their work." This among the modern Karaiben Makuschi /Macusi/ in Guiana. Appun, Unter den Tropen /Below the Tropics/, II, p. 399, Jena, 1871, and among many other tribes.

[113]

was therefore dependent on the booty of plant foods that she herself could obtain. On the Schingú the men plaited the roasting rack, roasted fish and meat, the women baked the beijús, boiled the beverages, the fruits, and grilled palm nuts -- what other meaning could this division into animal cookery by the men and vegetable cookery by the women have than that each of the two sexes had remained in its ancient sphere?

[252]

[252] The men did the roasting, but never the boiling. Starting from this fact, we come by way of the same line of thought to a similar conclusion corroborated by quite analogous observations. Scarcely anything else on the Schingú seemed stranger to me at first than the fact that the art of making pots was limited to the Nu-Aruak tribes. The Bakaïrí did not own a single pot that did not come from the Kustenaú or Mehinakú. The docile Bakaïrí expressly told me that they had learned pottery from the Paressí, their Nu-Aruak neighbors. Thus old Caetano, in other words, the man, contrary to all original custom, made pots on the modern Paranatinga. The Nahuquá had pots from the Mehinakú and also made some themselves, as was demonstrated before our eyes by a woman kneading the moist clay; but this woman wore the tattooing of the Mehinakú women and had married into the Nahuquá; the art actually came from the Mehinakú. The Tupí tribes, too, had pots from the Nu-Aruak, especially from the Waurá. Thus, the one tribal group ** was the sole bearer of

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** According to Im Thurn, the Karaiben at

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*171 174 415 252 of the mandioca mass was boiled in huge pots, but otherwise only a jam of fruits was boiled and occasionally a dish of small fish which were not worth turning on the grill. The filtrate

*171 174 252 462 Soup meat and meat broth were unknown; the men knew only roasting. One may ask, perhaps, how did they happen to discover roasting? I shall prove in the next chapter that we have here a matter of experience of hunters and men. They set fire to the campo in a circle in order to overpower the animals being pursued, and there they found roasted small animals and found fruits which, though unripe, had been made edible and even tasty by the heat.

Now, since the men and hunters, in their sphere, do not yet know about cooking, boiling or cooking must have been invented in connection with the preparation of plant food. One often sees the women grilling all kinds of small fruits in quantities on the beijú pans. Only in this way does unripe fruit become edible, the crispness gives seeds and nuts greater tastiness. And they also began with the roasting of fruits. The roasting [323] racks of the men for meat and fish, plaited out of climbing plants, let the fruits fall through the meshes; the base again may have been smeared with loam, and from that only a small step was lacking for the earthen frying pan, the subsequent beijú pan. On the other hand, if one wanted to "roast" fruits or roots soaked in water, the vessels filled with these, either natural ones -- the Botokude cooks in bamboo sections -- or artificial ones covered with clay, were set on the fire, and thus one "cooked." Therefore, "cooking with water" was done only by the women!

If the mandioca industry was founded by one tribe whose descendants are still living and are included in the present classification, this was in all probability the Nu-Aruak. On the Schingú they most certainly deserve credit for its introduction, since the preparation of flour without earthen pots and beijú pans is impossible. Even in the northern regions, however, the Aruak are the best flour-workers and have always been the most

/217 cont./

*171 skillful potters, although the Karaiben in Guiana have at present
174 become the manufacturers for that region. That is to say, the
252 women! When the Karaiben in the north of the Amazon River
462 and on the Lesser Antilles subjugated the Aruak tribes and killed half the population, it was fortunate that this half was the men; the women with their agriculture, their potter's art, and their flour technique survived.

174 Thus, among our Indians we see how the higher culture sur-
462 passing hunting arose out of the natural division of labor, and it is also /218/ owing to this that, with feuds and with the formation of new tribal communities, it could be handed down to future generations. The woman was more than the working animal, she was also the working human being; just as the man developed the technique of weapons and of the tools arising out of hunting, she, with the same self-reliance, developed the cultural elements placed in her hands, such as gathering, carrying, preparing fruits and roots; the Indian owes his tasty flour-drink in the earthen vessels to the woman. The individual pieces of evidence put together for this conclusion, which might be more useful for a toast to the ladies than for the serious struggle of our women in order to work (a struggle rooted in modern necessity and not in prehistory), are still preserved intact in the Brazilian culture circle. The realization that -- at least here -- the possibility of becoming sedentary goes back to the obvious merit of the women's activity naturally forced into a certain direction by the hunter vocation of the men, elevates the female sex for this phase of development at least up to the level of the male sex.

[433] The hunter and agriculturalist schema only now comes alive;
[323] man and woman, both, represent a standing or a certain sum of technical knowledge. Thus it is very plain that the less advanced tribes of the Schingú could not make their pots, although they had loam. They lacked Nu-Aruak women, and the Nahuquá, who had taken some of them into their community, had thus taken the right path: they now began to make their own pots, whereas the Bakaïrí had not yet produced the smallest pot.

/237/

*171 251 252 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side; the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

*171 285 [824] Plaiting. The material was furnished by the bakayuva, buriti, akurí, and carandasinha palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm urumbamba (Desmoncus), and the indispensable vines. The men [462] were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in [482] which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no advance beyond the generally familiar forms. Some [531] variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinakú and Auetö had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinakú called these baskets mayáku, a word which the

Fig. 31.
Carrying basket: (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/238 cont./

128 I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

*171 283 286 Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp, palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers are put in neat bundles, and twisted on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then [462] spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes; fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

*171 392 285

Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/9 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

*171 283 The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, freed of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang; as a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters; length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The [239] whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

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*171 527 535 against appearing in the "flute house" at an inappropriate time, though they may hope to come out again alive, or at most only half dead. Carnival on the Kulisehu is also followed by a period of fasting, for it does not end -- the reason is not one connected with the cult -- before everything that is there has been eaten and drunk insofar as possible. The women have an enormous job satisfying the demands for beijús and drinks; they must pound, boil, and bake incessantly, and this necessity has probably also contributed somewhat to their being kept away from the dancing, so that they could meanwhile carry out their duties.

[462] [262] [272]

535 Bakaïrí. On the Rio Novo and Paranatinga the old customs are still observed. "Everybody dances like the wild Bakaïrí," said Antonio, "tudo dansa como Bakaïrí brabo." He described to me the festival held last April, when the people from the Rio Novo had invited those of the Paranatinga. They danced the yatuka dance, the makanri, and the imeo. Yatuka is a fish dance; wooden fish are worn on the head, especially the black pakú and the matrincham; heads of men and women are made of calabashes painted black and white or black and red and surrounded with Bromelia hair.

Makanari is a general term. The Bakaïrí calls almost everything and anything that is part of his dance adornment makanari; he calls specific dances makanari. "bakaïrí makanári zóto," the Bakaïrí is master of the makanari. It is the dance of his tribe. The imeo is a type of makanari, a specific figure. In fact, it seems that the concept of makanari was originally narrower and referred to a specific dance with straw plaiting. Among the docile Bakaïrí there are no wooden masks. Here the principal makanari is the bat dance, and, to be sure, semímo, the small bat, and aluá, the large bat. Antonio recited the text of the aluá dance* for me, but, in spite of a great deal of trouble, it

[532] [533]

535 539 *One man sings: ohuhaaha-áhá yumáa ohú..... yumarí uvanuká, yumari uvanuká huyaná vitá öö....yohohohú. Then another: mauá káua

241 beans, *ipié;* peanuts, *oremí;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *návi;* maize, *únji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *úunto;* tobacco, *tauwí;* piqui fruit, *ípa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes 248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and 276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapáki*). [755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite. 252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were 272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a non-alcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help 241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and 462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain [285] extent. Women wove mats (*anegéu*) out of various [286] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets. [323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí